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Sacrificial tusked boars.

782 To achieve the results set out above, however, one more thing is necessary; for every one of these acts depends for its efficacy on, and derives its sanction from, what is possibly the most important item in the whole ritual, namely the sacrifice of tusked boars.

782 231 These boars are the most treasured possessions the natives have, and their ritual value lies exclusively in the artificial elongation of their tusks. This is brought about by knocking out the upper canines, so that each tusk, having nothing to bite on, curls upwards and back, re-enters the jaw, and, growing forward again inside the curve described by the tusk on its first outward passage, once more issues from the jaw and continues to grow till its tip is for the second time seen gleaming outside the animal's lip. It is then said to have described a complete circle, and is at this stage fit for the highest form of sacrifice. Every stage of growth up to this point has its special name as listed in Chapter X, and in the long cycle of rites connected not only with the Maki but with all of the numerous lesser ritual performances such as the mortuary rites, the consecration of a new Lodge or canoe, and on innumerable other ceremonial occasions, each act is accompanied by the sacrifice of a boar whose tusks have reached the appropriate stage. Under favourable circumstances and with great labour the tusks may be induced to describe two or even three complete circles. Such boars become famous, large fees are charged [554] to any wishing to view them, and their sacrifice confers specially high rank on the fortunate and painstaking owner.

782 By means of such sacrifice the natives, in a witty but true phrase uttered by Godefroy, "spend their time in consecrating," and the most important objects they consecrate are themselves. For the main purpose of the enormous labour devoted to rearing these animals is the sacrifice of the Maki, when, after innumerable lesser sacrifices accompanying every step in the fifteen-year-long ritual, the chief tuskers are sacrificed on the dolmen and stone-platform which on Vao are the chief monuments erected, and 200 or more valuable animals are sacrificed on a single day, attached to long lines of small upright stones, some of which are the monoliths already mentioned. The efficacy of this sacrifice results from the fact that the sacrificial animals have themselves previously been consecrated through sacrifice of yet other boars, and have by this means become identified with the Guardian Ghost, and in the highest grades have been invested with a title similar to its own. At the moment of sacrifice the ghost of the boar passes into the sacrificer, who by this means himself becomes identified with this Being, and in this way builds up a power within him that he hopes will ensure him from being devoured when he dies. This sacrifice of tusked boars is said by the natives to replace the former sacrifice of human beings. In spite of the fact that human

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introduction of firearms to the natives by unscrupulous Whites, whereby the Small Islanders, who were the first to acquire these weapons, succeeded in exterminating almost the whole of the once numerous population inhabiting the villages on the adjacent Malekulan coast.[1] This tragedy, now bitterly regretted by the Small Islanders themselves, has prevented any further enquiry as to how these two villages themselves acquired the rites. I do not know the actual date of this extermination. It cannot, however, have occurred very long ago, and in the generations preceding it a mass of ritual practices emanating from these two villages had already been acquired by Wala, whence a great deal has since been acquired in turn by Atchin but only a certain amount by Vao, and that only by the villages on one side of this island. This is one of the reasons why, as stated in the Preface, I have chosen Vao as the subject for this first volume in order to establish the historical sequence of cultures on these islands. Where this megalithic culture came from it is not the business of this work to discuss, and, except as regards a few outstanding features, the historical aspect of the problem is not mentioned.

Genealogical records and their connexion with stone monuments.

One relevant fact must nevertheless be mentioned because of its effect on the natives' own outlook. This is the sense of historical continuity possessed by the natives of the Small Islands, in which they differ notably from any other known tribes in this part of Melanesia, and which is expressed and fostered by their extensive orally transmitted genealogical records. I have already called attention to the fact that the cycle of rites comprising one performance of the Maki lasts approximately a generation, and to the stone monuments erected during each such performance. These monuments are never removed, and remain as a perpetual memorial of those who set them up. Each such performance is moreover distinguished from all others by some outstanding feature by means of which those taking part in it hope to eclipse in magnificence all previous performances, either by the acquirement of some new form of ritual or in the grandeur of the stones erected or, most impressive of all, by the number of boars sacrificed and by their value in terms of the elongation of their tusks. It is as a rule in accordance with this latter form of emulation that each Maki performance is named, these names, such as "The Circle-Tusker" or "The Five Hundred," referring to the quality or number of boars sacrificed, being treasured by the natives of each village as part of the historical heritage enhancing their own prestige. Not only is each Maki remembered, however, but also the leading men who organised it and carried it through, by means of the monoliths erected and at which some of the chief tuskers are sacrificed. Details of these sacrifices are also remembered, since, with

[1] See p. 602.

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the progressive increase in skill in the rearing of tuskers (another feature to be discussed later), these have on the whole improved in quality during each successive generation, and the memory of these improvements, resulting in ever greater curvature of the tusks, adds to the prestige of those who sacrificed them and also to that of their descendants. These facts, handed down from father to son, together with the ancestral stone monuments standing in every village dancing-ground, form a historical framework by the aid of which the natives of the Small Islands preserve a mass of information regarding their past history, and of the personalities and exploits of their ancestors. Since most of the facts so preserved are centred round the successive performances of the Maki, there can be no doubt at all that this historical sense is part and parcel of the megalithic culture it represents. There is also very little doubt that it is closely connected with patrilineal descent, for in Vao, where patrilineal descent has been comparatively recently introduced and the dolmen representing the female principle is still the chief monument erected, the genealogies do not go back more than nine generations. In Atchin, on the contrary, where patrilineal influence is stronger and monoliths representing the male principle have largely supplanted the former use of the dolmen as the chief sacrificial monument, they go back nineteen generations to the slaying by two brothers of an aboriginal man-eating ogre named Ias associated with an older layer of culture, memories of which still survive in South Raga, where legends are told of mythical baby-snatchers called *ias*, and the same word is used also as an honourable title for successful killers of men.[1] The two Atchin brothers said to have killed Ias nineteen generations ago were clearly the last representatives on this island of the former system of overt matrilineal descent, since their successor Iwas was their sister's son, and it was this man Iwas who introduced the existing system of overt patrilineal descent through which the inhabitants of the chief village on this now patrilocal island trace kinship with him, the youngest boy at the time of my visit belonging to the seventeenth generation of his descendants in the direct male line.

"STONE MEN"

The importance of monoliths in tracing descent is due almost certainly to the fact discussed on p. 699, that these monuments, now consisting of plain coral blocks, for the most part undressed, represent what at one time in the history of this culture were stone statues carved to represent the dead. Thus some of the monoliths erected for the higher ranks in the district of Seniang in South-West Bay (which in turn were derived,

[1] Tattevin, 1, 1926, pp. 409, 410; also 2, 1931, Tales XXIX, p. 879 and XXX, pp. 880-1. The same personage figures in the mythology of Oba as the man-eating ogre Taso (Codrington, 3, pp. 398-402).

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dust. Dry leaves kept at hand are then swiftly placed over the spark, and fanned by blowing into a flame. Under favourable and absolutely dry conditions fire can be made by this method in under a minute. But it is hard work, and the European trying for the first time may work for five minutes before getting a flame.

Ritual fires and sex dichotomy. Position of strangers.

There is no family gathering for the meal, however, for one of the fundamental principles underlying society in these islands is that those who have performed the Maki rite, that is to say practically the whole male population, have thereby become so holy that they may not eat with women. This sex dichotomy which decrees that all the men, apart from small boys who have not yet taken their first step in the Maki, must eat separately from women, is one of the most marked features of Small Island society, and has far-reaching results. It is largely bound up with the question of fires, which in themselves, when lit by a member of the Maki hierarchy, are holy. Thus one of the chief acts at the moment of consecration during this rite is the lighting of a new fire, with brands from which (according to one account) the oven on which his meals are henceforth to be cooked must be kindled. Tales dealing with the miraculous origin of certain fires as related on Atchin will be given in a later volume.

One of the results of this sanctity of fires, which affected the writer's entire outlook and conditioned much of his work, was the fact that he himself, not having taken Maki rank, was unsanctified. He was therefore unable to eat with the men, nor could he eat with women, since had he done this he would have been classed as one and therefore automatically debarred from knowledge of men's secret rites. So he was forced to eat alone. This resulted in practically no contact with women, and in the fact that, lacking the ordinary meal-time companionship which in other countries, and indeed among themselves within the sex ban, is the time of greatest sociability, his attention was largely concentrated on the more formal, ritual life of the natives, of which this fire ban is one of the most salient characteristics.

It is therefore not as an honoured guest that the stranger from outside the closed ranks of the Maki hierarchy will be received at meal-time, but as a stranger from a different world, tolerated on account of his personality and his adherence to a race that may indeed be superior in many other ways, but yet one outside the pale of communal eating, to whom it is no insult not to offer food, for the simple reason that it is impossible.

If, thus, it is desired to make a correct approach, meal-times are to be avoided as bringing too obviously to the fore the abyss separating the holy from the unclean who have never, by means of sacrifice, wiped out the stain of having, as boys, eaten with women. There are, it is true,

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stories of men who have acquired such superlatively high Maki rank—there are none living now—that they have been strong enough, not without raising such storms in the community as almost to wreck it, to break the taboo and re-establish, for themselves alone, spiritual contact with the mother's milk by eating from the same fire as women.[1] Such men who have completed the circle between childhood and divinity are regarded with awe and terror as being almost equal to ghosts.

It is well, therefore, to wait until the meal is over, the pipes lighted,[2] and, with the gathering twilight lit up by moon and stars and by the smouldering fire, to approach with some casual appropriate remark and then sit down and listen, not with the head only, but, as the natives say, the "belly," or what we should call the heart.

Debates.

Another type of meeting from which women are excluded but which the circumspect stranger may attend is that of the debates, which in fine weather are held in the dancing-ground or in wet weather in the *ghamal*. These are described by Godefroy [3] as being either "small" debates, which are a kind of communal recreation when a little is said about everything, or "grand" debates, announced by the sounding of gongs. Such "grand" debates are held only on important occasions, when, for example, a woman has eloped or some insult has been perpetrated against one of the influential members of the clan, or else to announce the date of some rite, or because certain old men wish to summon an offender before this the only tribunal that exists.

If held in the dancing-ground, each member of the clan takes his place at the correct spot indicated by his rank. The oldest members take up their position on the Upper Side, close to the gongs; if there are five or six of them, they squat on their heels, in the form of a square; three paces behind, towards the middle of the ground, sit those one rank inferior to that of the old men; yet further off, and separated by the same distance from those superior to them, are a group of young men; finally, that of the older boys. All speak in a low voice, though the elders talk rather more loudly than the rest. They discuss the subject of their meeting.

[1] The story of one such will be told in a later volume on Atchin.

[2] A European innovation, hand-maiden of the trader who, by creating this artificial craving which occupies some of the native's surplus energy now that his work in the gardens has been so notably lightened by the introduction of iron, has established a tobacco-currency which, as the natives themselves despairingly say, "goes up in smoke," and must be eternally renewed, for the white man's profit.

[3] Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 40-1. The word for these debates in his spelling is *sisilakuarean*, from the verb *sisilakuar*. The Atchin equivalent is the verb *tsil-tsilewere*, whence on that island I had conferred on me the half-joking title of Melteg-tsilewere on account of my long sessions with informants. (Melteg is one of the titles conferred on men of high rank in the Maki, see pp. 289, 432.)

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on the male line, the unconscious compensates by envisaging this figure as female.[1]

Of all the Small Islands, Vao, though at first sight as patrilineal as the rest, is in fact geographically the nearest to the matrilineal area, and in its kinship system gives due weight to both lines of descent. This possibly explains the uncertainty existing there in regard to the sex of the Guardian Ghost, since there neither line of descent is too greatly over-emphasised.

Closely connected with the predominate line of descent is the name of the graded society itself. As already mentioned in the Introduction, this society is closely connected with the Guardian Ghost, and is, in one of its aspects, an actual representation of the journey of the dead. The interesting fact is that in the matrilineal areas this society is called by the same name as the Guardian Ghost; in the Banks Islands it is called *Sukwe*, and in Malo, where it appears to have been very similar to the present Vao Maki, its name is *Sumbe*.[2] In the patrilineal area of Malekula, and in Ambrim, it is, on the other hand, called by variants of the word *Maki* (*Mangki*, *Mangke*, *Mengge*, etc.).[3] This suggests an even closer connexion between the Guardian Ghost and the graded society in the matrilineal area than exists in the predominately patrilineal islands of Malekula and Ambrim.

Title of old men of high rank equivalent to Le-hev-hev and Supwe.

A further fact of first-class importance, both as indication of the close connexion existing between the two graded society-complexes and of the aspirations underlying both, is that the honourable title for old men of high rank used in ordinary parlance is actually a variant of the word used for the Guardian Ghost, namely *na-sup* in Atchin, *na-humbe*[4] in Vao. Thus old men of high rank are *ipso facto* identified with the Guardian Ghost.[5] This fact is of the highest importance in understanding the significance of the

[1] Thus, in classical mythology, among the patrilineal Greeks and Romans, the Guardian of the cave from which access to the land of the dead is had, is female, i.e. the sibyl (see Knight), whereas in matrilineal Egypt the corresponding figure is male. There are, however, certain exceptions, such as the Tubuan of the Dukduk society in the Gazelle Peninsula, New Britain, who is female, though the system of descent is matrilineal. These figures are all guardians; in all cases the ruler of the dead appears to be male, e.g. Anrum Mbwilei in Seniang (Deacon, 4, p. 556), Mal-kalaut in Vao, Mol in the Tasmaut district of Santo.

A curious feature is that the names of a number of undoubtedly male culture-heroes in the Small Islands as semi-historical figures also have the prefix *Le-*. Whether this also indicates a compensatory psychological process or whether these names have been adopted by men from female mythological figures, as Asaor (see below, p. 606) adopted the name of Le-hev-hev, I am unable to say.

[2] Rivers, 3. For other variants of the word see pp. 274, 691, 693.

[3] See pp. 691-2.

[4] It is this title which Godefroy translates "chief." See note on p. 233. This is not to be confused with the titles attached to names such as *Mal*, *Melteg*, etc. (see pp. 431 ff.).

[5] See p. 258.

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whole graded society-complex. Its ritual and mythological significance will become abundantly clear as we proceed with the examination of these aspects of culture. Psychologically the implication is that if, as we have seen, the Guardian Ghost represents the reverse side of the social structure, so also does it represent the reverse side of the part played by the individual in the Maki. The extraverted bravado and extreme self-assertion associated with this dionysiac performance is thus seen to be balanced by a ferocious self-accusing monster lurking in the performer's unconscious. It is perhaps significant in this context that the natives of Vao, whose Guardian Ghost is sexless, are notably the mildest and most urbane of the Small Islanders.[1]

Le-hev-hev referred to as "It."

Since the Vao language gives us no clue as to the correct way to refer to this sexless Guardian Ghost, and since in English it is necessary to use a differentiated pronoun, the obvious way out of the difficulty, and one which to my mind accords most nearly with the native conception, is to use the pronoun "It" with a capital "I" to indicate personification.

Guardian Ghost as "Spider" in neighbouring islands.

The Vao definition of Le-hev-hev is, as we have seen, "That which draws us to It so that It may devour us." Godefroy, on one occasion, actually refers to It as a "beast." Speiser is still more explicit, referring to it as "a crab-like monster with two immense claws."[2] Before examining the Vao beliefs, it will therefore be worth while to make brief mention of the non-human aspect of the Guardian Ghost in neighbouring islands. This is most strikingly shown in the equation, at Lakona on Santa Maria (Banks Islands), of Supwe with Marawa, the Spider.[3] No explanation is given by Codrington for this at first sight curious identification, but, if we look at it in the light of the Vao definition of Le-hev-hev, it is clear that the spider sitting in its web is also symbolic of "that which draws us to It so that It may devour us." This is clearly the basic reason for the selection of the spider as symbolic of Supwe. There are, however, two interesting extensions of the idea. The first is in a Mota account of how Marawa, the Spider, "spun a line from earth to heaven" in order that a man might carry up his child to join its mother, who had ascended thither in the smoke of a fire.[4] Possibly connected with this story is the

[1] According to Harrisson and to Godefroy, this is no longer the case. The latter refers to the natives of Rano as "quarrelsome," of Wala as "pert," of Vao as "sour-faced," but of Atchin as "having soft and polished manners." Let it be noted, however, that conditions have changed. In the three first a new morality has been adopted. Atchin alone is without a Mission Station.

[2] Speiser, 1, p. 68. For details see below, p. 228, note 1.

[3] Codrington, 3, p. 157.

[4] Ibid., 3, p. 383.

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Sacrificer identifies himself with Le-hev-hev.

Both objects are simultaneously achieved through a man's identification with Le-hev-hev through sacrifice. We have already seen how a man's ghost, or soul, is saved for the after-world by the fact that Le-hev-hev devours the ghost of the "death pig" instead of his. But this substitution of the ghost of a tusked pig for that of the dead man is possible only owing to the fact that the man has himself, during his lifetime, become identified with the pig.[1] Thus victim, sacrificer and the mythological being to whom sacrifice is made [2] are all one; that is to say, that though separate creatures, they possess, through ritual, something in common. This something, in the case both of the pig and of the man, is that intangible part which, according to the native, after death becomes a "ghost" (*ta-mat*), and which during his lifetime we may call "soul." [3] Now, women when they die do not become ghosts, because, with certain exceptions,[4] they may not sacrifice, and therefore have no souls. Nor do young boys who have not yet sacrificed, for the same reason. For it is only through sacrifice that a man acquires a soul, and is therefore capable of prolonging his existence in the next world. It is by means of this intangible soul, which at death becomes a ghost, that a man establishes connexion with Le-hev-hev. The importance of the tusked boar lies in its position as intermediary between the two.

In order to understand what the natives' idea of sacrifice is, and what the sacrificial animal actually represents, it is necessary briefly to outline the preferments in rank attendant on the performance of the Maki rite. The Maki is a graded institution by means of which, through sacrifice and the performance of due ritual, a man rises through a series of ranks which vary greatly in number in different districts. In some districts there are very many—in the Seniang district of South-West Bay there are over thirty.[5] In others, as in Atchin today, where the system has become more completely democratised than elsewhere, there are only two, though

[1] This fact is mirrored in the Mota story of how "Qat made men and pigs at first in the same form, but on his brothers [including Suqe] remonstrating with him on the sameness of his creatures, he beat down the pigs to go on all fours and made men walk upright" (Codrington, 3, p. 158). In a tale from Oba, Tagaro jokingly refers to a pig he has cooked as his "mother" (Ibid. p. 411).

[2] One might add also the sacrificial monument. Thus, referring to the sacrifice at the dolmen which represents the cave guarded by the Guardian Ghost, Godefroy says (1, 1933, p. 37), "We have here, as forming a single entity: the victim, the altar and the sacrificer."

[3] Thus, in Mota, *qomate* means a dead pig killed at a feast (Codrington, 2). Compare also the Oba tale of an "underworld of pigs" equated with the underground "village of the ghosts" (Codrington, 3, p. 286). Pigs are said to have souls (*tarunga*) in Florida (Ibid. p. 249). For the identification of the two concepts of "soul" and "ghost" in Oba, see Codrington, 3, p. 287. I did not record the Vao word for soul. In Atchin it is *mumun*, which also means "shadow." In South Raga the soul is *manuk* during life, *armat* or *tegar* after death (Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 394).

[4] Those, namely, who have taken part in the women's Maki (see p. 452).

[5] See Layard, 2, pp. 151-2, and Deacon, 4, pp. 274-5.

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there were formerly more. In all the Small Islands, however, a man who has attained very high rank is addressed by a title of respect philologically equivalent to the word Supwe. The term in Atchin is *na-sup*, and in Vao *na-humbe*. In South-East Oba the same word under the form *sungwe* is used in precisely the same way.[1]

Now, I have already shown how *na-sup* and *na-humbe* (and the same is true of the Oba *sungwe*) are philologically equivalent to Le-hev-hev shorn of its prefix Le-, and that this fact alone shows the identification of men of high rank with the Guardian Ghost. The means by which this identification is attained is a matter which, in Atchin where my own main enquiries were conducted, and where the whole Maki rite has become much more complicated and removed from its simplicity through the addition of new and highly spectacular features from further south, I failed satisfactorily to elucidate. For the explanation given in the simpler culture of Vao I am indebted to Godefroy, who found that the title of *na-humbe*, and the titles of the two lower ranks which lead up to it, are bestowed in the first place, not on the sacrificer, but on the tusked boar itself, and that it is only through sacrifice that a man assumes the rank of the victim he sacrifices. The tusked boar is itself previously sanctified by sacrifice of yet other pigs. The boar thus acquires a soul,[2] and it is through the passage of the boar's soul into the sacrificer that the latter is himself sanctified and takes on his victim's rank.[3]

Consecration of Tusked Boars

conferring on them the ranks subsequently to be assumed by the sacrificer

Godefroy gives a brief account of the stages in the consecration of a tusked boar, beginning with a short account of the extraction of the incisors, which he describes as the boar's "initiation." He says:[4]

"This is how they accomplish the initiation of a future *na-humbe*.

[1] Layard, 9.

[2] In the Seniang district of South-West Bay sacred trees and plants, connected with the public graded society, chief among which is the cycas, also have souls (Deacon, 4, p. 548). These also are presumably sanctified by the sacrifice of the tusked boars that are attached to them. An extension of the same motive is probably also to be seen in South Raga in the application of the word *temat* to all objects, such as the cycas and dracaena, which are connected with a man's rise in rank. Though the South Raga word for "ghost" is *armat*, there can be little doubt that the two are connected. The term is also used for the influence that a man of high rank has over those in his immediate neighbourhood, a kind of "coercive power" directed against all those things which, in the natives' eyes, appear dangerous (Tattevin, 1, 1927, pp. 568-9). In this sense the word has the same meaning as the Small Islands word *tamat*, meaning "peace," of which mention is made below.

[3] For the equation "Principle [sacrificer] = offering = god," compare A. M. Hocart, p. 67.

[4] Godefroy, 1, 1934, pp. 115-19.

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the water, the interior of the hut began to be flooded over. A grunt and a slight movement of the boar's spine conveyed to the watchful guardians the information that the deluge had already reached the august animal. Then, for the first time, I realised that there was another compartment in the hut occupied by women, also charged with the duty of tending to the needs of the presiding deity of the house. They also understood their lord's complaint, and immediately began to turn the invading stream by digging a fresh channel, diverting the water into their own compartment; not only this, but they further made sure of the water-tightness of the bottom of the transverse partition by placing along it the earth they had obtained from digging the channel. They now sat in the mud, but the 'lord' *le-ban-ban* continued to rest in his dry trench.

"All this work had been accomplished in perfect silence, which continued after the storm was over. As I left, two young men came to relieve the others, and I heard the latter instructing them, 'He has just had a drink; you had better soon give him some dry coconuts to eat.'

"During the 1913 eruption on Ambrim, a man named *Nu-nur-mal*, chief of Likon, had been unable to tend his *le-ban-ban* for three days. On the fourth day he sent his daughter, saying, 'Wash him with water from the ravine, the spot which belongs to me; then make his bed. Then gather bread-fruit from the tree from which I myself eat, and roast one for him. While it is roasting, knock down a green coconut. Then you will find in my house a dry coconut. Split this, scrape out the kernel and give it immediately to my *le-ban-ban* to eat. After this, without hurrying, when the bread-fruit is properly cooked, peel it and cut it up, then place the pieces within easy reach of *le-ban-ban*. When he has eaten his fill, give him the green coconut to slake his thirst. Then clean out his hut, and when he has lain down in it again, don't forget to comb out the little tuft at the end of his tail which he waves so becomingly.'"

One boar on Atchin was of such high rank that no one could sacrifice it.

The above scenes, though witnessed on Ambrim, are typical of the attitude towards pigs throughout Malekula also. I have myself seen similar scenes on Atchin, where large fees, payable in money-mats, are demanded even for the honour of seeing a high-grade tusked boar. On that island, during the time I was there, there was one boar that was even too sacred to be sacrificed at all, the man for whose sake it had been raised to supernumerary rank having died before he could sacrifice it, and no one else on the island being of high enough rank to risk taking his place. There was therefore every likelihood that it would die, and that the years of rearing it would have been in vain, since its soul would then pass away without having conferred its rank upon any member of the community. This illustrates the negative aspect of identification, since, if a man were

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to sacrifice a boar advanced to a grade too far beyond his own in the Maki hierarchy, the passage of the boar's soul into his would overwhelm him, and disaster would be sure to follow.[1]

Mass Sacrifice

Information regarding the details of sacrifice will be included in the chapters on the numerous sacrificial rites, and in particular that of the Maki. When it is realised that, on a single occasion at the culmination of the Maki rite, in addition to the circle-tuskers and tuskers of yet higher rank sacrificed by individual men, there is a mass sacrifice by the men of at least 100 tusked boars on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground as well as of 100 gelded tuskers on the Lower Side, the reader will be able in some measure to gauge the immense importance of these animals in native culture.

Stone Image of a Pig

Since I took no special photographs of live pigs on Vao, I here reproduce one of the stone image of a pig which I was shown resting on a dolmen erected in front of a Lodge in the now deserted mainland village of Tolamp, the final resting-place of the inhabitants of the submerged island from which this village took its name, before the last remnants of them took up their abode on Vao.[2] The Lodge has long since rotted away, and the dolmen now stands alone, half-covered with bush. The image is 19 inches long, and is called *wuli*, said to be equivalent to the pidgin-English "larrikin," or ruffian, a term recalling the character of the Guardian Ghost. In the short time at my disposal, I was unable to discover what purpose it served. The tusks are clearly indicated, and there are two shallow depressions on the back. I asked whether they might be for kava, which, though not drunk by the people of Vao, is so used by the Big Nambas of the North Malekulan plateau, but my informant was unable to say whether this was the case or not. There is a record of two "pigs carved of stone" kept in a taboo place belonging to one of the Lodges in Matanavat, on the north coast of Malekula, said to be used for magical purposes.[3] The only other example of a stone pig from the New Hebrides known to me, now in the Basel Museum für Völkerkunde, is said to come from Oba, and to have served as a kava bowl. Its back is hollowed out as though to receive

[1] Compare Deacon (4, p. 548), who says that in Seniang, the soul of a pig of well-developed tusk-curvature, such as a re-entrant-tusker (*imaap*) or higher grade, "is powerful, more powerful even than the spirit of some human beings. Thus if a small boy were to partake of the flesh of a pig of high grade, the *nivinvin* [soul] of the animal would be stronger than the *nimwinin* [soul] of the child and would devour it, so that the boy would die." (The souls of pigs and human beings are called by different names.)

[2] See p. 58.

[3] Harrisson, 2, p. 59. Their magical use is not described.

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Malekula, their descendants eventually became so decimated that the last remnants of them sought refuge on Vao, where they now live on ground ceded to them from Togh-vanu. In the days of their prosperity, however, they were regarded as the most go-ahead and therefore most honoured community north of Atchin, and were the first to buy any new form of Maki that emanated from the Malekulan mainland. This was in the days after the introduction of the stone-platform, but before that of the ten shrines. The result of this is that, in spite of their present position as refugees, they are still looked up to on Vao as depositories of the highest traditions of the older form of the existing Maki, as performed in Pete-hul–Togh-vanu, are regarded here as the "first men" of the Maki, and take precedence in all its rites.

"First men" the vehicles of "apostolic succession," and announce date of culminating sacrifice.

The position of "first men" of the Maki is an important one, since it not only confers considerable prestige on those holding it, but also embodies the principle of continuity connecting the present performers of the rite with its remote founders and with all those in the long line of participants who have practised and preserved it throughout the ages down to the present day. For, from the point of view of any given village in the Small Islands or on the adjacent mainland, the "first men" are always those from whom they themselves have acquired the most important aspects of the rite. The chief honour and duty imposed on them is that their leader, that is to say the chief man of the village from which the rite has been derived, shall undertake the important function of announcing the date on which the culminating sacrifice is to be performed.[1] As he does so, he holds a kava root in his hand, and representatives of all those who have already been initiated into the rite (namely those of the "introducing line" as well as initiates from other villages) must touch this while the announcement is being made, so that, through physical connection with him by means of the kava root, they may achieve continuity with the past and themselves forge a new link in the chain which will itself hand the rite on to posterity. Thus, for the Vao village of Pete-hul the "first men" are the men of Tolamp, from whom they derived their form of the rite. In its offshoot village of Togh-vanu, however, which in its turn derived the rite from Pete-hul, it is a man of Pete-hul who announces the date and so forms the link with the past. In the same way, in the villages on the Inferior Side of Vao, which have acquired yet later forms of the rite from Atchin,[2] the announcement is made by an Atchin man, or, failing such, by a man of the Vao village of Norohure, which was the first on this island to acquire these new forms. So continuity is preserved in much the same way as in the Christian

[1] See p. 376. [2] See p. 281.

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Church through the doctrine of apostolic succession and the laying on of hands, with the slight difference that the hands are not directly laid on but that the essential element of touch is achieved through the medium of the kava root, universally recognised in the Pacific as a channel for divine (ancestral) inspiration.

Tolamp Maki about to be revived.

The position of Tolamp also affords evidence of the importance of the whole Maki rite as a promoter of well-being and social prestige. It so happened that my chief informant on Vao was a Tolamp man who had at one time, when on another island, become nominally a Christian, and had at the same time amassed a certain amount of wealth in pigs. He had, however, renounced the first without renouncing the second, and had returned home to rehabilitate the fortunes of his clan, and his method of setting about this was, with immense energy, to clear a space for a new dancing-ground for the performance, for the first time on Vao, of a Maki in which the participants should be exclusively Tolamp men.[1]

MAKI INTRODUCED FROM MAINLAND VILLAGE OF N'AV-AV

The Story of To-wewe

The following story, told of the origin of the Maki on Vao,[2] makes no mention of a dolmen, but only of a stone-platform. This may be due either to a mistake on the part of my informant, or to the fact that he, a Tolamp man, was envisaging in his account the type of Maki that he himself was at that moment about to perform, a type more like the Atchin than the Vao Maki, in which a stone-platform is erected for both parts. However this may be, the important point to note is that the story refers to the introduction of this type of monument, which is that which, to the native, typifies the Maki as opposed to all older forms of the graded society rite.

The founder is said to have been a man named To-wewe, who lived at the village of N'av-av on the mainland of Malekula.[3] The type of

[1] For a brief history of this, and of the dispute to which his action gave rise, see pp. 435 ff.

[2] A strange lapse by an otherwise reliable author (or possibly his editor) is the extraordinary statement attributed to Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 40) that Maltaru, who, in his genealogy (see p. 94), he assumes to have been born in about 1770, "knew neither the White Man, nor iron, *nor the Maki*" [my italics], and that his son Meltehlerang (born about 1800) was the first to witness all three. This is, of course, manifestly untrue of the Maki as a whole, and the statement, if made to him at all, must have referred only to the introduction of some of the very latest new forms of the rite from Atchin.

[3] I have not been able to place this village on the map. It is said to have been close to the recently extinct village of Na-tsing-ware, some three miles inland from Tsungon Ta-har, and some four miles distant from Vao.

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I noted this song before I was aware of the story of To-wewe. The only information I can give about it is that the last phrase means "They seek (*shel-iel*) *tawor* kernels on the path (*ne-selu*)."

Ranks: originally Four, now Two

Once the stone-platform had been introduced to Vao from N'av-av by way of Tolamp, all the sub-rites connected with it were transmitted one by one through the same channel by the method of ceremonial purchase.

(a) *Vel-vel (or Na-som) and Mulon.*

The dual form of Maki resulting from this process included at one time four ranks, divided into two groups of two ranks each. The lowest group consisted of *Vel-vel* and *Mulon*. These are the two highest ranks known among the Big Nambas according to Deacon's information, and the only two according to my own information derived from Atchin, where *Mulon* is said to be the Big Nambas title for a chief. An alternative title for *Vel-vel* was *Na-som*, the word ordinarily used for shell-bead necklaces that in Vao are used purely for ornament but in the Banks Islands are money. Godefroy refers to both these as "children's titles," and it is possible that they may still be taken by boys during the mass sacrifice on the Lower Side of the dancing-ground described on pp. 390, 429.

(b) *Mal and Melteg.*

The highest group consisted of *Mal*, universally considered as the highest in the whole of the Northern New Hebrides, and the supernumerary title of *Melteg*.[1] Of these, *Melteg* is itself but a modified form of *Mal*, being formed by the addition of the syllable *teg*, which causes the *a* of *Mal* to be transformed into an *e*, *teg* being but another form of the word *togh* meaning "to stay," and referring to the periods of voluntary retreat undertaken by those of high rank after the sacrifice.

Only Mal and Melteg remain.

The process of democratisation in the Small Islands, combined with the enormously increased wealth of these islanders in pigs, has on Vao, as on Atchin, had the result that in recent years all the lower ranks have disappeared. Thus, for example, the rank of *Mulon* applied to chiefs among the Big Nambas has sunk so low as to become obsolete. This has no immediate social consequences since the Big Nambas have at the present time little or no contact with Vao. What is, however, most galling to the men of high rank on the east coast of Malekula is the fact that *Mal*, which is now actually the lowest of the two ranks taken on Vao, is

[1] Godefroy sometimes spells this *Meltek*, and when followed by a personal name often omits the *g* or *k*, leaving only *Melte*.

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there actually the highest, so that a great man arriving from East Malekula finds to his disgust that most young men, and even boys, are there invested with honours which it has taken him, in his own home, a lifetime to acquire.[1]

On Vao the older men are all *Melteg*, within which rank there are a number of yet higher supernumerary grades conferring yet higher distinction which will be referred to on p. 432.

Lavishness of the Rite

The comparative simplicity of the Small Island Maki with regard to the number of ranks is, on the other hand, balanced by an immense increase in the number of rites, and by the great length of time they take to perform. This increase is seen also both in the quality and the quantity of tusked boars that are sacrificed, a number which on occasion rises to several hundred at a time.

For, though only one "line," consisting of members of one matrilineal moiety within the patrilocal village, performs at one time, each member of this moiety is the son of a member of the other moiety, and family solidarity sees to it that both moieties combine to pool resources. In this way, the whole wealth of an entire village is contributed lavishly towards the performance of every detail of the rite. In spite of the number of years, roughly a generation, which it takes to perform the rite, each man whose life is not cut short has the opportunity of participating at least twice, or, if he is lucky, three or even four times. For it is a point of honour that the rite shall be carried through as speedily as possible, so that rise in rank may be swift and its performance by the opposing "line" composed of members of the other matrilineal moiety (which in this patrilocal community at the same time includes the next generation) shall not be unduly delayed.

EVE OF THE RITE
RECKONING BY "NIGHTS" INSTEAD OF "DAYS"

There is only one more subject to mention before proceeding to an account of the special rites connected with the Vao Maki. This is the period covered in the native mind by what we speak of as a "day." Modern Europe regards the twenty-four-hour period we call a "day" as extending from midnight to midnight. This is a purely artificial convention, since there is no obvious natural phenomenon occurring at these moments to show us that they have arrived. Moreover, we tend to regard the night as a period of recuperation after the day, and consequently in practice think of the twenty-four-hour period as starting either at dawn or

[1] A somewhat similar state of affairs is reported by Codrington from Gaua in Santa Maria, where "boys begin high up, so that a Gaua boy often ranks with a grey-haired Mota man" (Codrington, 3, p. 105).

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which each Maki-man makes before the culminating point of each subrite, to his wife's father.

To those who have followed the development of the patrilineal element in the kinship system from one containing two patrilineal moieties into one which, owing to the bisection of the inferior moiety, now contains three patrilineal trisections, the reason for the special position occupied by the wife's father will be clear. For while, in a 4-section system, in which a man marries his mother's brother's daughter, the wife's father is at the same time the mother's brother, when the inferior patrilineal moiety to which both these belong becomes split (causing a man to marry his mother's brother's daughter's daughter), the mother's brother remains in patrilineal trisection B but the wife's father belongs to the newly formed patrilineal trisection C. In this way the tribute originally due only to the mother's brother also becomes split, one portion now being due to the wife's father, and this, being the latest burden to be imposed and being bound up with the whole debt due from a man to his wife's people, is, as has already been pointed out, particularly irksome.

Owing to the patrilocal nature of Small Island society the rôle of the mother's brother may, if this man is dead or infirm, be taken by the mother's brother's son, and similarly that of the wife's father may be taken by the wife's brother. The resulting sociological pattern, on which the existing Maki is based, is thus the familiar one of a 6-section system, here represented in Fig. 43 to emphasise the chief male participators in the rite.

DOMINANT FAMILIES

Within this framework, in which all males in the community take part and theoretically each has an equal right to achieve the highest rank, in practice each village, in spite of its democratic organisation, contains as a rule one dominant family, namely, the senior branch. Owing to the fact that an "eldest son," once officially proclaimed, holds this position inalienably and cannot, if he die without issue, be succeeded in the title by a younger brother,[1] the succession in seniority is complicated. There is an attempt to keep the succession pure in that "eldest sons" may not be adopted; but younger brothers may be adopted, and they in turn may have official "eldest sons" who belong not to the family of their father's birth but to that into which their father has been adopted. There is thus considerable latitude in the interpretation of what seniority actually is, and little doubt that wealth in pigs plays a considerable part in deciding such knotty questions. Be this as it may, there is in practice, as a rule, one family in each village which holds a dominating position with regard to its various ritual performances, and in particular to the Maki. This family is at the same time usually the wealthiest in pigs, and in consequence its members have

[1] See p. 182.

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been in a position to perform the best individual sacrifices (for, as we shall see, in spite of the mass sacrifices, the finest tuskers are sacrificed by individuals), and so to have attained the highest supernumerary ranks.[1]

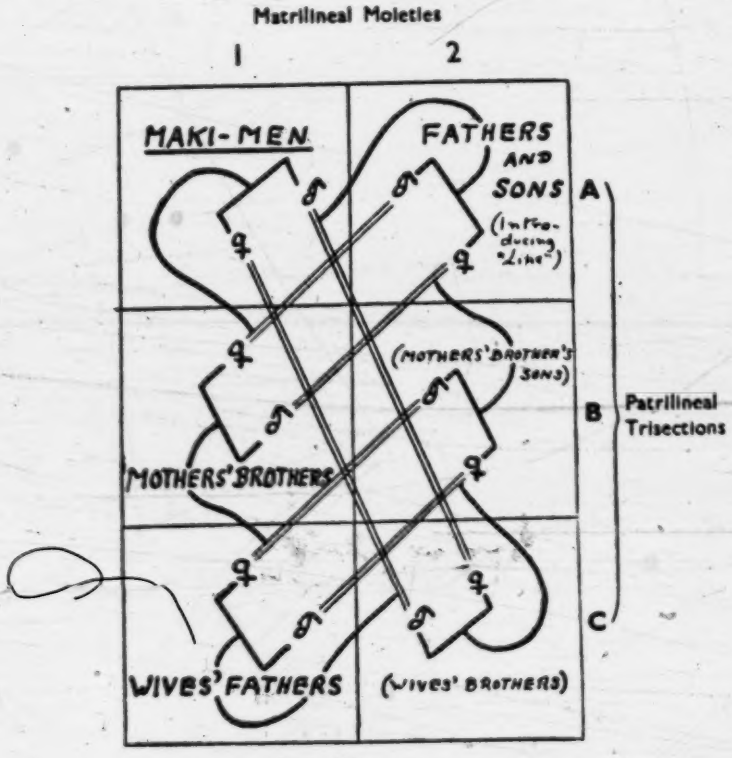

FIG. 43
6-section kinship diagram showing all the chief male participators in the Maki.

Rich man "makes a new Maki" for his son.

It is therefore the individual Maki-man who has attained the highest of these ranks, and at the same time belongs to the dominating family, who proceeds to "make a new Maki" for his son. In the next Maki performed this son is therefore the chief figure and will in turn probably sacrifice the best boar and take the highest supernumerary title, while his father, who is at the same time his introducer, occupies the

[1] See p. 431 ff.

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position of chief instructor in the rites, not only for his son, but also for the whole "line" of new Maki-men to which his son belongs.

This man is "leading man" of the rite, called Singon a war-warean.

This man who is "making the Maki" thus occupies a very special position in the rites. He is what we should speak of as the master of ceremonies, and it is on him that the success of the rite largely depends. It is his function not only to instruct, but also to decide whether a sufficient number of pigs and yams are available for each new step in the rite to be taken, and in general to expedite the whole performance. He is the "leading man" of the rite, and, owing to yet another function he performs, namely that of speech-maker and announcer of the date on which each new step is to take place,[1] he is known by a special name, *singon a war-warean*, literally "speaking lip." This name is pregnant with meaning, since *singon* ("lip") also means promontory, alluding to his prominent position, and the root *war* is also used in a number of variants for "to pray." As no English equivalent can render these nuances, I shall refer to this individual, who is at the same time the chief introducer, as the "leading man" of the rite.

Dancing by Villages in Rotation

One of the chief functions of the leading man is, as we have seen, to announce the date for each sub-rite. Almost all such sub-rites are the occasion for dancing,[2] and on the most important of them the members of every Vao village, and even of villages on other islands, come to dance in established rotation on successive nights preceding the rite, ending up with a combined all-night dance on the Eve of the performance.

The receiving of villages in rotation in this way is called *ar tame vanu*, of which *ar* is the first person plural personal pronoun, *vanu* means "village," here referring to its members, and *tame* means to "salute" or "welcome."[3]

By extension, the word *tame* also means "to give in return for something else," and is used primarily with regard to food.[4] Thus members of other villages also come on certain occasions and in the same rotation to assist in work needing large numbers of helpers, such as the hauling

[1] With certain exceptions, such as the date of the culminating sacrifice, in which case his place is taken by a man from another village (see p. 282).

[2] See Chapter XII.

[3] Thus, to *tame* an approaching canoe means to wait for it on the beach and greet the members of the crew when they land.

[4] Compare South-West Ambrim *tam-tan* (Rivers, 3) meaning "distribution of food." The Vao word can, however, be used in other contexts. Thus, when I give my informant Ma-taru a present of tobacco in return for the time spent working for me, the current phrase would be *ne tame Ma-taru*, "I reward Ma-taru." The Atchin form of the word *tame* is *tamwe*. Compare Mota *tamwa*, meaning "as, like."

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Sacrificers approach dolmen adorned with insignia of rank and carrying a club and wooden pig-killer.

For this purpose he has donned all the insignia proper to his previously acquired rank. In his hair he wears hawks' or cocks' feathers, black or white according to rank, together with red hibiscus flowers and leaves of golden fern. His biceps are adorned with shell-bead armlets worked in geometric designs representing a hawk's face and other symbols, and on his wrists he wears as bracelets the tusks of boars sacrificed on former occasions. His face is painted black. In his left hand he carries a club, and in his right hand a wooden pig-killer (see Plate X, 2) carved out of a forked branch of which the longer arm is the handle and the shorter the striking part which ends bluntly so as to crack the victim's skull or at least stun it so that it can be despatched later. The handle, roughly one foot three inches long, is incised with geometric patterns, and the fork often carved to represent a man's head, of which the prolonged chin stretches towards the striking end. The whole pig-killer is painted red, yellow and blue, and the magnificence of the carving varies with the sacrificer's rank.

Tusked boar sacrificed on dolmen. Its soul enters the sacrificer, whereon he assumes his new title and rank.

I did not myself record the actual position of the boar at the moment of sacrifice. Godefroy, however, describes how it is lifted on to the dolmen, where it is made to stand on its hind-feet, while its fore-feet—its arms as the natives say—rest on the fore-arm of the man about to sacrifice it.[1]

It is at this moment of striking, whether the victim is actually killed on the spot or merely stunned to be despatched later, that the title already bestowed on the tusked boar devolves, with the supposed passage of its soul, upon the sacrificer himself.[2]

Thus, though the sacrificer has already acquired one new title and name by means of the mass sacrifice in the afternoon, he now, by this yet more holy act, acquires a second, this time of high rank, and, as he sacrifices, he calls out, in a loud voice so that all can hear, his new title together with his new name, saying "*Ne-haku* M . . ." "My name is M . . ."[3]

The victim is not eaten by the sacrificer but by a member of another village, most probably, as will be seen later, by the mother's brother.[4]

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 37.

[2] See p. 258.

[3] For new titles and names so taken, see pp. 431 ff.

[4] See p. 725. The only record I have is of boars sacrificed at Pete-hul being taken to Peter-ihi.

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Each Maki-man sacrifices alone.

As each of the chief Maki-men in turn approaches the dolmen to sacrifice his tusked boar his way is similarly barred by a group of mother's brothers, and in each case the same performance is gone through. Each thus acquires two new titles and names: the first, of low rank, acquired during the mass sacrifice, and the second, of high rank, acquired now. Of the two names thus taken, it is the second and highest by which he is subsequently known, until such time as the men of his "line" perform a new Maki, when he will assume a yet higher supernumerary title and take to himself a yet more pious or more ambitious name.

Maki-men retire into semi-seclusion.

All the sacrifices being now over, the Maki-men retire to their own dwelling-houses or into the *ghamal* to undergo various periods of semi-seclusion accompanied by restrictions symbolising a spiritual death and re-birth.

Women's Complimentary Titles

Before detailing the above restrictions, however, there remains to be described one more rite that takes place on this day which I have omitted till now only in order to preserve a clear picture of the sequence of sacrifice. This is the important rite of conferring complimentary titles on the Maki-men's wives, daughters and mothers.[1] These terms are used here not in a classificatory sense, but in a biological one, so that if a man is unmarried and his own mother is dead there will be no women to share his rise in rank. I know, unfortunately, very little about the part played by women in the Maki, and my interest in kinship was at the time of recording not sufficiently aroused to prompt me to investigate this problem in the way that I should if I were in the field again. My record of this rite is therefore fragmentary and, while there is much that is of obvious significance, there is much also that is obscure.

The rite itself, which is performed by each Maki-man separately in the privacy of his own house-enclosure, is a comparatively simple one, and consists, besides giving the title, in covering up the women's heads as a symbol of mourning. Whether this act of mourning is on account of the Maki-man's own ritual death or on account of the real death of the sacrificial boars I am unable to say.

Differences in treatment between (i) daughters and mothers; (ii) wives.

While they have this in common there are, however, marked differences between the treatment of (i) the daughters and mothers, and (ii) the wives. These are:

[1] This is not to be confused with the women's own Maki, in which they themselves sacrifice pigs and take titles in their own right (see p. 452).

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(a) *When titles are given.*

The titles given to the daughters and mothers (I name the daughters first because, for reasons shown below, this is the native practice) are bestowed immediately after the mass sacrifice, while those given to the wives are bestowed on some subsequent occasion, though I unfortunately omitted to record exactly when.

(b) *The titles and their meaning.*

While there is only one title to be given to the daughters, namely *Le-tang*, and one to the mothers, namely *Le-ghter*, the wives receive one title, *Le-lek*, on the first occasion on which their husbands perform Low Maki, and another, *Le-at*, at High Maki and on all subsequent occasions on which their husbands perform the rite. With regard to these titles, it will be remembered that every woman's name begins with the prefix *Le-*, so that the special meaning of each title is to be sought in its second syllable. Thus:

Le-tang, given to the daughter, means "she who weeps" (*tang*), referring to the fact of mourning.

Le-ghter, given to the mother, is a respectful title probably meaning "she who is old." (Atchin *tara*, though I am unable to account in this case for the prefix *gh*.)[1]

Le-lek, given to the wife at her husband's first performance of Low Maki, means "she who stays at home." *Lek* is the ordinary word for "to stay" or "to remain," and refers in this case to the wife's staying at home to look after her husband during his seclusion.[2]

Le-at, given to the wife at High Maki and at all subsequent performances and the most honourable title to which a woman can attain, means also "she who stays at home," *at* being a more serious and ceremonial word for ritual quietness.[3]

(c) *By whom the titles are bestowed and whose names are taken with them.*

While the titles given to the daughters and mothers are bestowed by the Maki-men themselves, and the women in question at the same time adopt the Maki-man's name,[4] those given to the wives are subsequently bestowed not by the Maki-men, but by the Maki-men's own mothers

[1] The Atchin form of the word is *Le-ter*. It is interesting to note that one of the women's titles in Seniang is *Ne-vin Tari* (Deacon, 4, p. 482), which in turn may be connected with the male title *Tari* found in South-West Santo, Oba and North Raga.

[2] Compare the woman's title of *Likan* in Seniang (Deacon, 4, p. 482).

[3] This word may possibly also be connected with *hat*, meaning "bad" in the sense of "powerful" or "feared."

[4] Thus, if the Maki-man's name is Melteg-rori, his daughter will become Le-tang-melteg-rori, "she who weeps for Melteg-rori" (or for his sacrificial boar), and his mother will become Le-ghter-melteg-rori, "the old lady of Melteg-rori."

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(who are now *La-ghter*), and the names they adopt are not those of the Maki-men but are those of their own brothers.[1]

(d) *Type of mourning-cap with which they are invested.*

While the daughters and mothers are invested only with an inferior or "preparatory" type of mourning head-dress in the form of a strip of umbrella-palm leaf (*ro-mbun*) [2] given by the Maki-men at the moment when they are given their new names, the wives are invested with full mourning in the shape of a widow's cap made of plaited matting dyed red in a variety of patterns and called *mbagh-mbagh*.[3]

(e) *Length of period of mourning.*

While the daughters and mothers are released from their period of mourning on the Thirtieth Day after the Maki, the wives continue to wear their mourning-caps for a period of one or two years, when, after the renewed dancing of *Velal* by all villages in rotation, the removal of these caps is the final act that brings the protracted Maki proceedings to an end.

These facts may be tabulated as follows:

Degree of relationship to Maki-man	*When invested*	*Title*	*Meaning of Title*	*Man's name taken*	*Bestowed by*	*Mourning symbol worn on the head*	*Period during which mourning symbol is worn*
Daughter	After mass sacrifice	*La-tang*	"weep"	Maki-man (= Father)	Maki-man	Umbrella-palm leaf (*ro-mbun*) regarded as substitute for widow's cap	30 days
Mother	After mass sacrifice	*La-ghter*	"old"	Maki-man (= Son)			
Wife	At some later date	*La-leh* [4] / *La-at* [5]	"remain" / "remain" / or "holy"	Own Brother	Maki-man's mother (= mother-in-law) [6]	Widow's cap (*mbah-mbah*)	1 or 2 years

TABLE VI

[1] Nowadays they sometimes take the name of their husband the Maki-man, but this almost certainly represents a modern degradation.

[2] Compare the Mota *roqo*, "an old leaf-mat," used also as a verb "to cover with old leaf-mats" and "to have a rough head of hair like an old leaf-mat" (Codrington, 2).

[3] From a root (Atchin *bek*) meaning "to carry on the head," probably related also to the Vao *mbek-mbek* (Atchin *pek-pek*), signifying "a fine" (see pp. 334, 437). Compare the Vao word *bak-baksan*, used as a noun for sacrifices made to the ancestors to expiate an offence against some important custom. Godefroy (1, 1934, p. 54) calls this a "sacrifice of atonement" and instances the case of young men returning home at the end of a period of indentured labour on a white man's plantation, when they have to make amends to the ancestors in this way for having eaten at a white man's fire and swallowed forbidden food—as, for example, the flesh of sows.

[4] At husband's first performance of Low Maki.

[5] At High Maki and all subsequent performances.

[6] On Atchin and Wala the bestower is the wife's own brother.

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SIXTH OR SEVENTH YEAR

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The final act, when the Maki-men's wives cease their ritual mourning, takes place also precisely as for Low Maki.[1] With this the whole double rite comes to an end, and there is then a pause of a year or two till the entire gamut of rites is recommenced by the opposite "line" or matrilineal moiety within the patrilineal village, those who in the previous Maki were the men of the introducing "line" now themselves becoming the Maki-men, and the recent Maki-men now taking on the rôle of introducers.

END OF THE MAKI

TITLES AND NAMES ASSUMED BY THE MAKI-MEN AT THE MOMENT OF SACRIFICE

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Relation between title and grade of tusked boar sacrificed.

One matter which I did not go into as fully as I should like to have done is that of the new titles and names assumed after the sacrificial act and their relation to the two forms of sacrifice that takes place at the culminating points of both High and Low Maki, namely the mass sacrifice described on pages 390 and 429 in which all Maki-men take part, and the sacrifice of special high-grade tuskers by a restricted number of individuals at sundown on the dolmen or stone-platform (pp. 393, 430), whereby each such sacrificer acquires a second, supernumerary title.

Since titles are derived from those previously bestowed on the sacrificial animals themselves, this question is clearly linked up with that of the actual grade of tusked boar sacrificed on these various occasions, on which my information is somewhat meagre.

Vel-vel (or Na-som) and Mulon.

One thing at least seems fairly certain, namely that the now almost obsolete titles of *Vel-vel* (or *Na-som*) and *Mulon* which Godefroy refers to as "children's titles," however important they undoubtedly were in the past, are now acquired solely by those boys who while taking part in the mass sacrifice do so only on the Lower or "women's" Side of the dancing-ground, the victims in this case being fowls at Low Maki and gelded tuskers at High Maki.

Mal.

As has been seen on p. 259, crescent-tuskers are ranked as *ni-Mal*, so that it appears equally probable that those taking part in the mass sacrifice at High Maki on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground where the tuskers are all of the grade crescent-tusker or over take the title of *Mal*.

[1] See p. 407.

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Melteg.

On the other hand, those individuals who sacrifice special high-grade tuskers on the dolmen at Low Maki and on the stone-platform at High Maki almost certainly take the title *Melteg*.

There may be, and probably are, variations on this general theme corresponding to the grades of tusker available for sacrifice at any given performance of the rite. Thus Godefroy says: "Every material object and every person consecrated by the sacrifice of a pig takes the grade and rank of the pig itself. On Vao, and in the surrounding districts, the boar possesses three principal titles of nobility, and the things and individuals consecrated by the sacrifice of these thereby adopt and are invested with the corresponding rank." [1] According to him, the three principal titles thus acquired are *Mal*, *Melteg* and *na-humbe*. As we have seen already, however, *na-humbe* is not a title, but an honourable term of address and reference used for all men of high rank.[2]

With this exception, Godefroy's account of the ranks agrees with mine. During the interval of almost twenty years elapsing between my investigations and his, however, two new supernumerary titles seem to have appeared, corresponding doubtless to the increased skill in rearing tusked boars. Thus, though *Melteg* is itself philologically a supernumerary title, it appears to be now so established as to be reckoned as a title in itself to which, for the sake of attaining yet further supernumerary rank, still further syllables are added. These are, according to Godefroy, *-amu*, of which I do not know the meaning, and *-aul* meaning "high up."

Comparing his account and mine (translating his literal descriptions into my terminology), the curvature of tusk necessary for conferring the titles first on the boars and later on those who sacrifice them are:

Title	Grade of Tusker Sacrificed		Grade of Tusker itself given title
	My account (1915)	*Godefroy's account* (1934)	(*Godefroy*, 1934) [3]
Mal	Curved-tusker or Re-entrant-tusker	Crescent-tusker	Crescent-tusker
Melteg	Circle-tusker	Re-entrant-tusker	Re-entrant-tusker
na-humbe [4]		Circle-tusker	Double-circle-tusker
na-humbe se [4]		Circle-plus-curved-tusker	
Melteg-amu		Circle-plus-re-entrant-tusker	
Melteg-aul		Double-circle-tusker	

[1] Godefroy, I, 1934, pp. 54, 55. [2] See pp. 259, 693. [3] See p. 258.
[4] These are not, properly speaking, titles (see above).

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Melteg-aul is above all customary law.

Describing the final honour attained through sacrifice of a double-circle-tusker, Godefroy says: "When a man is *Melteg-aul* he basks, it would appear, in an atmosphere of the most perfect felicity; for this name means that he is "high up," and that he dominates and surpasses all greatness and every rank." Again: "Men of high rank such as those who have attained the rank of *Melteg-aul* disregard at will even the most absolutely accepted customs; whenever it suits their private interest they flout the most time-honoured traditions, in utter contempt of justice, nor do they hesitate even to steal, and this in full sight and knowledge of the whole tribe, once they consider they have a grudge to pay, or a pride-point to satisfy. The *Melteg-aul* of Norohure wanted his war against Togh-vanu . . . During the course of this long-drawn-out affair no one on the island dared pass judgment on him nor treat him as the thief he was, out of respect for his rank of *Melteg-aul*. In the public eye he is, on account of his rank, a just, pious and respectable man. . . . In spite of all, he remains supreme pontiff in their solemn rites, and it is he who arranges all sacrifices. . . . As his name indicates, he is already high up alongside of Ta-ghar; and his title *Melteg-aul* means 'the first in everything and everywhere.'" [1]

Names added to titles.

It is not clear from the above whether the suffixes *-amu* and *-aul* have become inseparable adjuncts to the already supernumerary title *Melteg*. It is more probable that they are, on the other hand, names which have become more or less customary. For it is of the essence of each title that, while it may be used alone as a title of address, each individual acquiring it takes at the same time a new name of his own choosing [2] which is then never used without the title. Thus, while a man may be addressed as *Mal* or *Melteg*, each of which titles when used alone in reference is preceded by the indefinite article *ni-*,[3] his full name consists of title plus personal name. A few examples will illustrate this. Thus (if we translate *Mal* by "Sir" and *Melteg* by "Lord"):

Mal-wa-ru	means	Twice Sir (indicating that the rank of Mal has been taken twice over).
Mal-togh	,,	The Sir who stays at home (referring to the periods of voluntary retreat following the great sacrifice).
Mal-sale	,,	The Sir who dances like the hawk.
Melteg-vanu	,,	Lord of the place.
Melteg-tamat	,,	Lord Ghost.

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 242-3.
[2] Often that of a dead ancestor.
[3] A man will thus be referred to as *ni-Mal* or *ni-Melteg*.

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Sometimes the title is doubled, as in:

Melteg-mal meaning Lord Sir,

or the title follows the name, as in:

Ter-ter-mal meaning Strong Sir (i.e. strong in fixity of purpose).

"High" names transcending titles.

There are also "high"[1] names, taken by those who have reached such high rank as to be above titles altogether. Of this nature are the names of most well-known historical figures and culture-heroes. Such are, for instance, the names of the four founders of Pete-hul and Togh-vanu mentioned on pp. 85 ff. Such also, taken at random from the genealogy of their descendants given on p. 93, are:

Kalo-won meaning Holy Penis (indicating that its owner was too holy to be incised).
Na-mbal „ The Hawk.
Kur-kur probably connected with the *na-kor* or *na-kur* cult object mentioned on p. 471.
Val-vale meaning One who undertakes acts of abstinence (compare obsolete title *Val-vel*).

Note on the "Pre-Sacrifice" of a Sick Circle-Tusker

One of the possible tragedies attending the Maki is the premature death through sickness of a circle-tusker intended for sacrifice. If it was a home-bred tusker reared for sacrifice at the stone-platform, and the Maki was already far advanced, it would be impossible to make good the loss, and its owner would be debarred from the attainment of supernumerary rank. If, on the other hand, it was an ordinary circle-tusker earmarked for mass sacrifice, it might conceivably be possible to acquire another, but only at very great trouble and expense. Such is the ingenuity of the natives, however, that they have invented a convenient device by which both these tragic eventualities may be overcome.

This device takes the form of "pre-sacrificing" the boar while yet alive and preserving the head for re-sacrifice at the Maki itself. In order to accomplish this, when it is seen that there is no longer any chance of preserving life and that the boar is on the point of death, its owner carries it to the dancing-ground and there ritually "pre-sacrifices" it by tapping it on the head in the prescribed manner. The victim is then carried away by the recipient to his own village in the manner described on p. 392, and this man later returns the head, which is preserved and at the

[1] For "high" names see also p. 733, and for names now taken in imitation of European sea-captains and government officials see footnotes on pp. 93, 570.

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Age-grades are as follows:

Vene sōrik	Small girl.
„ *malakel*	Girl with breasts (nubile).
„ *narōmb*	Woman with fully developed breasts.
„ *lagh*	Married woman.
„ *seagh*	Married woman a little advanced in years.
„ *mbamb*	Woman with child.

Complimentary titles.

As we have seen,[1] every woman's name, given at birth, begins with the prefix *Le-*, but at every performance of the Maki, the female relatives of the sacrificers receive complimentary titles, namely:

Le-tang	when Maki has been sacrificed by her *father*.
Le-lek	after the first sacrifice made by her *husband*.
Le-at	after every subsequent sacrifice performed by her *husband*.
Le-ghter	when Maki has been sacrificed by her *son*.

There is yet further a title:

Le-tets	taken when the sacrifice is made by the woman herself at the women's house at a "Women's Maki," about which I unfortunately know nothing.

Once a woman has become *Le-ghter*, she apparently remains so, becoming, as she grows older, without any rigidly demarcated age-limits, *Le-ghter e-humbe* and *Le-ghter mer-sean*.

If a man sees a married woman whose name and title he does not know, he will call her, in reference and in address, *Vavine*, *Le-lek*, *Le-at* or *Le-ghter* according to a guess at her age.

Mortuary Rites

I know very little about the mortuary rites for women, save that they also vary with age and rank.

Women bearing the titles *Le-tang*, *Le-lek* and *Le-at* are said to be buried, like young men, in their houses, with similar rites of *Atean*, Fifth Day, Seventh Day (*Ber-mavel*), Fourteenth Day (*na-lang* pudding eaten in secrecy before dawn) and *Matean*.

Very old women (*Le-ghter mer-sean*) are buried, like their male counterparts, either in the squatting or in the extended position, and either in their houses or a little way removed towards the Lodge. If very old, they may be buried in close proximity to the special places reserved for old men (*ta-mat mōt*, the ghosts of *na-humbe*). It is said that at Tolamp they are actually buried in the cemeteries of the male *mer-sean*. There are no

[1] See p. 178.

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who had returned to his own people and was busy reviving the fortunes of his village in the same way. These two men were among my best informants, since they themselves were conscious learners from the older men and, like all learners, the most capable of passing on their knowledge.

Nor were the people of Atchin averse to using such aspects of the white man's material culture as would seem to them to further their interests. Though stone tools were still used for gardening and shell tools for carving, some natives possessed knives, but such things were not common, and the degradation in plastic art which everywhere followed on their introduction had, at the time of my visit, only recently begun to show itself. It seemed, by the way, most curious to me that, with the tremendous labour of digging in hard ground with nothing better than hard-wood sticks, no white man had thought of introducing more efficient agricultural implements, but none such existed. The hard-earned white man's money obtained on distant plantations was used almost exclusively with two objects in view. One was the purchase of whaleboats to replace their former long-distance canoes in order to facilitate the trade in and exchange of pigs in other islands. The second, closely connected with it, had as its result the only real benefit conferred by the white man, indirectly and without his knowledge, on the native. When I arrived on Atchin I was surprised at the number of young men who spoke pidgin English. It was not till I had been some time on the island that the reason for this became apparent. One of the least desirable aspects of the social system in this and the neighbouring islands was polygamy which, since most of the older men had two wives, effectually prevented the younger men from marrying until a comparatively late age. Wives are bought with the most valuable currency known in Atchin, namely pigs. So the younger men seized the opportunity created by the system of indentured labour to sign on for three years, without, like other natives, running up debts at the trader's store, so that with the money thus earned they might, on their return, buy pigs with which to purchase wives. This wholly beneficial revolution in the social machinery was in full swing at the time of my visit, but Mr. Harrisson tells me, and this is one of the most interesting points of comparison between then and now, that the old men have now turned tables on the young, and by devaluing the pig in terms of women and increasing the bride-price from eight or nine pigs to fifty or sixty, have thus restored the old equilibrium, and incidentally, presumably, their own authority. When we reflect upon the fact that the young men twenty-two years ago are the older men now we have a useful sidelight on one of the mechanisms governing the rise and fall of revolutions.

Another effect of the increased wealth in pigs thus gained was the elimination of the lower grades from the *Maki* hierarchy. This process was not primarily due to the wealth so gained, but, like so many other changes in native custom, was very much accentuated by it. In all other parts of Malekula the *Maki*, as has already been pointed out, is a graded hierarchy in which the grades are taken by individuals, and the taking of them demands great expenditure of pigs and other forms of wealth, so that when a man has reached the highest grade called *Mal* he is a very great man and jealous of his distinction. The tendency in such districts was consequently to increase the number of pre-

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liminary grades in order to enhance the dignity of those few who had reached the highest rank. In Atchin, on the other hand, owing to the communal nature of the rite and the mutual help afforded by every member of the village community to every other member, a contrary process was at work, the lower grades being already in process of elimination before the arrival of the white man. With the acquisition of the new wealth this process became speeded up, with the result that by the time of my visit they had all disappeared, so that each and every man, youth, and male piccaninny on the island who was capable of sacrificing a pig belonged to the grade *Mal*, much to the chagrin of those in other communities who had taken a lifetime achieving it. Even the older men on Atchin felt somewhat abashed by the general levelling-up, and, in order to assert their own superiority, a new supernumerary grade had been invented, called *Mel-teg*, literally "The *Mal* who stays at home," referring to the vows of abstinence taken after the *Maki*. It is amusing and significant to note that, according to Mr. Harrisson, the young men have again asserted their equality and that now most men on Atchin possess the title *Mel-teg*, and apparently for the moment, in this respect at any rate, democracy has reasserted itself, for there is no record of any further supernumerary grade.

The younger generation of natives made use of the white man's coming not only in the direction of freeing themselves from the domination of the older men. With the acute dramatic sense which is the essence of their culture they had also made up to some extent for other deprivations which the white man had brought about by using both him and his inventions for the enhancement of their already rich ritual life. Pantomimic representations of various aspects of the white man's activities had been incorporated into the dramatic repertory of the *na-leng* plays and dances, muskets were used to heighten the effect of ritual combats during the sex-initiatory expedition to Omba, into the more serious initiation rites on Atchin, in which hoaxes are performed on the initiates, more than one white man's *tour de force* was incorporated, and many of the masks and images were made lurid by means of Reckett's blue.

It is however significant to note that, even in the case of such a wide departure from native tradition as the abandonment of the manufacture of their own long-distance canoes in favour of white men's whale-boats, the old consecration rites were still continued. At one such consecration rite at which I was present over sixty valuable tusked boars were sacrificed, and the supreme sacrifice was that of a bullock, obtained from a trader, for which all the complicated sacrificial ritual was performed; while in the pantomimic dances the skulls of a bullock and two goats were used as masks.

One final word as to the causes of depopulation. At the time of my visit the population was on the decline. Of physical causes the chief was, as has been seen, the introduction of the musket which turned comparatively harmless semi-ritual combats into lethal battles. Second to this, the introduction of diseases, mainly of dysentery, which wiped out whole families. As to the psychological causes put forward by Rivers and others but denied by Mr. Harrisson, all I am able to say quite definitely is that there was at that time a general belief among the older men and some of the young ones that the race was doomed. The old men remembered the day when native culture was the highest achievement of the human race as they conceived it. The appearance